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STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

INFLUENCES IN THE MAKING OF BLACK STRATEGIC LEADERS

BY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES E. GORDON United States Army

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USAWC STRATEGIC RESEARCH PAPER

INFLUENCES IN THE MAKING OF BLACK STRATEGIC LEADERS

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ABSTRACT

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The ability and opportunity for black leaders to succeed in the military has been influenced by education, occupation, singularity, mentorship and competition. As a result, many contributions of Black Strategic Leaders have gone practically unnoticed. A review of the contributions of Black Strategic Leaders using historical examples, in conjunction with the competencies of strategic leadership will show that Blacks have made significant contributions. Additionally, the data and the impact of the influences will reveal that race was the primary factor which prevented the presence and recognition of Black Strategic Leaders. To overcome the issues of race and recognition in the military system, Blacks must: use and be mentors, understand the environment of competition, assimilate into the larger society sooner, and make occupational choices conducive to becoming Black Strategic Leaders.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONSiii
INTRODUCTION 1
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE INFLUENCES 2
Education 3
Experience 5
Singularity (competition & mentorship) 6
Mentorship 8
Fellowship9
Occupational Choice11
ROADBLOCKS14
BLACK STRATEGIC LEADERS17
Abraham Hannibal19
Toussaint L'Ouverture20
Lieutenant Henry Ossian Flipper21
General Colin L. Powell22
RECOMMENDATIONS23
SUMMARY24
ENDNOTES25
BIBLIOGRAPHY29

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure			
	1.	Black Officers, All Services (Active Duty)	.13
	2.	Total Active Duty, Blacks and Whites (All Services)	.13
	3.	Distribution By Service, Blacks and Whites	.13
	4.	Active Duty Black Officers, (Occupational Choice)	.13

INTRODUCTION

Black leaders have made key contributions in every war the United States has participated in. These leaders have been influenced both positively and negatively in their efforts to succeed in the uniformed services in which they have so valiantly served. Because of these influences, many contributions of Black Strategic Leaders (BSLs) have gone practically unnoticed.

The purpose of this paper is to identify key actions, talents, circumstances and skills that contribute(d) to the development of BSLs. It will also discuss areas of contention that have plagued Black Officers but have not influenced their White contemporaries. Historical examples will show the contributions of some BSLs.

The focus of this paper will attempt to answer three specific questions:

- 1. Was race a primary factor during key points along career paths that prevented the development of BSLs? If so, what are they and to what extent do they exist today?
- 2. What were the specific technical and interpersonal skills of successful BSLs?
- 3. What systems exist that provide opportunities for the development of BSLs?

The terms Blacks, Black-American, Colored and Negro all refer to the African-American race.

Positive and Negative Influences

Positive and negative influences contribute jointly in the development of BSLs. The positive influences expectedly yield good results, if there is a way of knowing of their existence. So often, when opportunities become available, they go unnoticed or are not acknowledged because of ones state in life. To be a true positive influence, the opportunity must be known and then used to ones advantage.

Negative influences, although not usually seen as opportunities, can be positive. They are usually easy to recognize and acknowledge. The successful BSLs have taken these negative influences and have made opportunities for themselves, that have been transformed into achievements. Dennis Kimbro says it best in his essay entitled, "Who Are We?"

"We are visionaries, innovators, dreamers, creators, leaders, builders and doers. We made it past slavery. We've been hurried and hassled; discouraged and downtrodden. We've provided an unpaid service to this country by serving others first and ourselves last. Yet we are survivors, overcomers, those that have endured. Though we are the last hired and the first fired, we know the meaning of perseverance. We know a setback is a setup for a comeback."

Whether positive or negative, influences play a huge part in the development of BSLs.

The most important of these (influences) are education, experience, singularity, mentorship, fellowship, occupational choice and opportunities. A review of these will show their impact on the development of BSLs.

Education

Education has probably been the most elusive and most sought after influence. In the military, education is one of the necessary elements needed for promotion and job selection.

Education is the foundation on which lives and careers are built. Problems with education of Blacks can be traced from the West African Empire in the 1400s to the present in America. However, it is only pertinent to note that Black Americans were aware of the necessity for education during slavery and risked their lives to get it. Although the struggle for education is not as intense or life threatening as it was during slavery, there are still challenges, particularly in the military.

Beginning with Henry Ossian Flipper, who was the first black cadet to graduate from West Point, education was the foundation on which his career was based.² He knew the importance of education and received sufficient education to enable him to pass the preliminary examination to enter the U.S. Military Academy. He successfully completed the four-year course of study and training and graduated fiftieth in a class of seventy-six in June 1877. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 10th Cavalry.³ To reach his goal, LT. Flipper had to overcome the silent treatment for four years and ostracization by his peers.

He demonstrated through achievement how important education was to him and later to his race. His successful completion of his education at West Point stood as a beacon for other Blacks to follow in later years. Today's military has significantly changed and the treatment LT. Flipper endured, is no longer tolerated. The military services recognize the importance of education and reward those who get it, with choice assignments and promotions.

There are however, other methods of retarding the growth of black officers and preventing them from making significant contributions. To increase the pool of officers, all of the services target the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and the service academies. Though not intended to be racially exclusive, the services have made special race-conscious efforts to recruit officer candidates.⁴

The Army, for example operates a preparatory school for students nominated to West Point, whose academic readiness is said to be marginal. As it turns out, the enrollees are disproportionately minority. This would lead one to believe that minorities are not academically prepared to compete at institutions such as West Point and the services are attempting to increase their numbers. This preparatory school should increase the numbers of Blacks and theoretically the number in the upper ranks, if minorities are disproportionately targeted.

However, the question remains, why aren't there more black officers attending the resident phases of the Command and Staff Colleges, or other military education level four (MEL4) schools? Additionally, once these officers have successfully become MEL 4s, why don't they progress in higher numbers to be War College Graduates and move into the upper ranks of the military? The answer to the question can be seen in figure 1.6 The data can be interpreted to suggest that black officers' numbers are reduced about 50% after the grade of 03. This reduction can be attributed to the poor selection rate of black officers, to attend resident MEL 4 schools. Attendance at a MEL 4 producing school is necessary to be competitive for continued promotion and schooling. If this selection is not made, then the chance of selection for promotion to Lieutenant Colonel and War College becomes tenable, which further reduces the opportunities to produce BSLs. Education is clearly a key ingredient, but other factors in conjunction with education contribute to why there are not more BSLs.

Experience

Experience is very difficult to quantify as a factor in the development and influence in the making of BSLs. There are however some areas related to experience to review, which include singularity, competition and mentorship. These are common to all professions but are particularly critical to the development of BSLs in the military, because the military is a unique institution.

The three factors, singularity, mentorship and competition, all work together and have both positive and negative qualities.

Although these factors work in concert with each other, it is important to understand each so that the relationship of the three factors will be understood.

Singularity (competition & mentorship)

The Random House Dictionary defines singularity as the quality of being singular or the singular, unusual or unique quality of being singular.

This definition describes what many black officers call being "the only one." Being the only one is unique in that it effects the perspective many black officers have about themselves and how relationships are formed and developed. This is a notable issue because the viewpoint taken in this situation impacts on the factors of competition and mentorship.

Singularity used positively can inspire competition and success. The negative impact of singularity is that it can sometimes make one appear withdrawn and viewed as a non-team player or a non-conformist. These traits are attributed to junior black officers who have difficulty conforming to the norms of the larger group in the military. Because of these apparent traits and the difficulties they cause, performance ratings and job assignments suffer. The previous situation has no central focus except human nature. In an institution such as the military, social interaction is significant.

Young black officers that have poor socialization skills, are not as well known as their white counterparts. As a result, when the time comes to decide which officer should have a top rating in a group of officers, all things being equal, the officer that has the best socialization skills gets rated better. Socialization as a part of singularity, is also an important part of competition. The critical element of competition is knowing the competition. It is generally felt by many black officers that to be successful in the military, job performance must be twice as good as the white officers. Unfortunately, for most black officers, the competition is usually with other black officers. This phenomenon occurs because, the services in their efforts to provide equal opportunities, select Blacks from the pool of available Blacks for promotion and choice assignments. If more Blacks were available the base of competition would be larger.

The military's policy on equal opportunity makes allowances for race in promotions and selection for schools and jobs. This policy sets goals that translate to numbers of Blacks competing for promotion. Figure 2 explains that in the active duty forces there are 45,101 Majors/Lieutenant Commanders (04s). 86.4% of these 04s are white officers and 7.7% are black officers. The 7.7% black officers are competing not only with their white counterparts, who by the time they reach Colonel/Captain (06) are 93.3% of the 06 ranks, but also with the 3.1% of black officers who are 06 during the same period. The statistics clearly show two factors that impact on the number of BSLs.

The first factor is that less than 50% of black 04s get selected for promotion to 06. The second factor is that the rate of promotion to 06 for white 04s increases by 9%. Finally, since the military makes allowances for race in promotions and selections for schools and jobs, only a few black officers will be promoted and selected for positions that will pave the way for them to be BSLs. So instead of competing with all of their peers, black officers are also competing with other black officers. Because of singularity, many black officers really do not know with whom they are competing.

Mentorship

Mentorship according to Random House Dictionary, is a wise and trusted counselor or an influential senior sponsor or supporter. Senior black sponsors, counselors or teachers are in small numbers in the services as shown in figure 2. Black officers don't necessarily need other black officers as mentors. However, black mentors understandably have experienced what younger black officers have not, and therefore are better able to share how they solved similar problems.

Shared experiences can assist a young black officer who has less experience with competition within the service. For example, black officers who graduate from ROTC programs have a less clear understanding of competition in the services. In many cases, these officers do not recognize what a good Officer Efficiency Report (OER) or job assignment should be.

The failing is partly in the education system, but mentorship can make the difference between the successful and the unsuccessful military career. A mentor could point out the significance of well written statements in an OER. Statements that say promote when eligible, are not as desirable as promote and select for command now. More senior black officers would increase the pool of mentors and consequently improve the numbers and quality of black officers in the services. The added numbers would also increase the level of fellowship among black officers in the services.

Fellowship

Fellowship is defined as companionship or a company of equals or friends. To counter singularity and foster mentorship, fellowship is an attribute that black officers need. There are a few times in a black officer's career where fellowship can truly be enjoyed. These times occur during the Basic and Advanced Courses, Command and Staff College and at the War College level, which are notable points along career paths.

The Basic Course affords the first opportunity for fellowship. Young black officers are usually not mature enough to realize the challenges and pitfalls ahead and hesitate to take advantage of the opportunity. The Advance Course and some intermediate schools provide the next opportunity. At this point in the officer's career, they begin to get information that enables them to compete on a level playing field.

Frequently, it is already too late because initial performance ratings have, in some cases, put young black officers behind their peers. The performance ratings generally reflect poor integration, socialization skills and a lack of mentorship, rather than performance.

The next significant career mark is the Command and Staff College. Given that the officer has learned some lessons as an 03, the selection to attend the resident Command and Staff College should follow. However, the data at figure 3 shows that of the 6,405 03s, only 3,470 actually get selected for 04. The total black 04s make up only 7.7% of the total services and only 7.1% (Air Force), 12.7% (Army), 4.1% (Navy), and 3.5% (Marines). These percentages suggest that fellowship and opportunities for mentorship are less likely, as black officers get promoted.

There are many opportunities for black officers. All of the services in their promotion board procedures are instructed to be cognizant of the possibility of past personal or institutional discrimination. Furthermore, goals are set to establish promotion rates for minorities that are equitable to the majority. The promotion boards are also designed so as not to force the members to use quotas. This effort by the services presents an opportunity to those who have survived singularity, lack of mentorship and fellowship.

Occupational Choice

Another factor in the area of opportunities that still prevents black officers from making significant contributions at the flag level, is occupational choice. The majority of strategic leaders are produced by the services from the category of tactical operations officers, or what can be termed as the warrior class. The majority of black officers choose either voluntarily or involuntarily to be logisticians or administrators. The data at figure 4 clearly shows that the selection of black officers pales in comparison to his white counterparts. Although the numbers are less for Blacks in each category, the tactical area is by far the smallest. 13 A simple explanation is that Blacks are very concerned about what happens after the military. occupational choices reflect a means to life after the military. Positions as logisticians and administrators have skills that are easier to transfer to a civilian profession and are therefore more popular. There is also a stigma that existed from the colonial period through World War I, that Blacks were not competent enough to be in the warrior class. Blacks were instead placed in administrative and logistical positions. An example of this is demonstrated in the career of Henry O. Flipper, who was commissioned as a Cavalry Officer but whose duties entailed those as a quartermaster and subsistence officer. 14 Today, black officers still find administrative and logistical positions in the military appealing because of the opportunities these positions provide.

Unfortunately, the numbers of black officers in the warrior class are small. Because of the small numbers, opportunities for black officers to compete for positions that lend themselves to producing strategic leaders are limited.

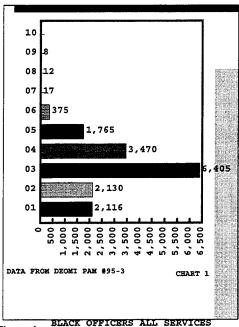


Figure 1: (ACTIVE DUTY)

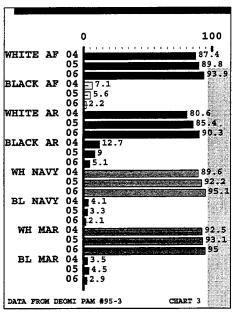


Figure 3: DISTRIBUTION BY SERVICE

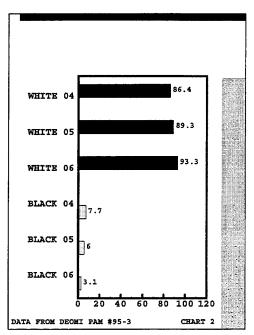


Figure 2: TOTAL ACTIVE DUTY ALL SERVICES



Figure 4: ACTIVE DUTY BLACK OFFICERS

ROADBLOCKS

Black officers have had many obstructions that have retarded their progress and prevented them from becoming recognized strategic leaders. Some obstructions were blatant institutional racism. Although institutional racism has existed for centuries, the military has waged its own war against it and has shown some progress. Race relations in the military prior to the mid 1950s was the responsibility of individual officers. During the period, these officers brought into the service, their civilian attitudes and perceptions about Blacks. General Andrew Jackson referred to black officers as "adopted children" in his proclamation during the war of 1814. Additionally, experienced black officers were ignored while less experienced white officers were selected to command black units. Because of General Jackson's proclamation, Blacks were not admitted into the military from 1820-1863. 16

Between the Civil War and during the Spanish-American War very little changed about perceptions and attitudes toward Blacks in the military. Promotions of enlisted soldiers to commissioned officers during the period were only temporary. Because the promotions were temporary, black officers were reverted to their enlisted rank if they chose to re-enlist in the Regular Army after the war. Consequently, by 1901, the War Department Policy that prevented black officers from retaining their rank, also left the services with very few black officers.¹⁷

Between the Civil War and World War II, race relations and policies continued to hinder the development of black officers. Separate officer schools were established that prevented Black and White officers from learning to work and communicate with each other. Since there were not many black officers, opportunities for working together were limited. The military today is designed so that black and white officers can work together and learn about each other. Ideally, the lessons learned and the revised attitudes, will educate the civilian population, once these officers return to civilian life. Most of the old blatant roadblocks have legally disappeared, but roadblocks still exist.

Passive bigotry is a common roadblock that is experienced by black officers today. It is the easy way out for the average white person to hear racist remarks and ignore them so as not to have the responsibility for responding. By not responding to incidences regarding discrimination, a willingness to abdicate responsibility for bigotry is demonstrated. No one is so schizophrenic that they can be a complete bigot on the weekend and then be open-minded and fair when they get to their place of duty. Passive bigotry is probably one of the worst forms of bigotry because it shows guilt by association. There are passive bigots in all facets of society and the military has its fair share. Passive bigotry has prevented black officers from making substantial contributions and excelling in the military.

History shows that black officers have been fighting this obstacle for quite a long time.

Roadblocks that exist today are not insurmountable, but they are still difficult to overcome. The first thing to do is confront passive bigotry. This issue alone accounts for many injustices. To the passive bigot, there is no problem or the problem is too hard to be fixed by one person. Illustrating and teaching what passive bigotry is and how to identify it will go a long way in eradicating it.

Secondly, race must be examined in various forums, because it is not a comfortable issue to discuss. Only by talking about race and related issues can a dialogue be initiated to help everyone understand everyone else. As was illustrated in our military history, one of the greatest achievements to developing an understanding of the races was integration.

Third, a thorough review must be conducted of the Military Equal Opportunity Assessment (MEOA). The MEOA reports on promotion results, completion of military education, assignments to career enhancing jobs and over and under representation of minorities. The MEOA contains both data and narrative assessments of progress and whether equal opportunity objectives have been met. The MEOA also identifies problems such as harassment and discrimination.¹⁹

The three methods of removing today's roadblocks can be effective separately.

But to be truly powerful, addressing all three together will make the biggest impact at truly solving the tough problem. Any obstacle for any race in the military is an affront to an institution that has made great strides over the years. Much progress has been made, but there are still many race related problems.

Racial problems, specifically with black officers, will further hinder opportunities for BSLs to emerge. BSLs have been present throughout military history but have largely gone unnoticed. To further determine who they are and what they've done, a review of their competencies, accomplishments, trials and tribulations will be examined.

BLACK STRATEGIC LEADERS

The Civil War marked the beginning of the history of Black American Officers. Blacks fought in both the Revolution and the War of 1812, but no records during the period reflect any Black that was a commissioned officer. Ironically, those that were fighting to keep Blacks enslaved were the first to commission Blacks.²⁰

Black officers have made quantum leaps in their accomplishments since they were first commissioned. None have been truly recognized as strategic leaders except General Colin L. Powell. The information leading up to this point explains various reasons why black officers have not been recognized.

A review of what strategic leadership is and the competencies of a strategic leader may determine why other black officers have not been recognized.

The July 1995 draft of field manual (FM) 22-103 (Strategic Leadership), uses the United States Army War College definition of Strategic Leadership.

"Strategic leadership is the process used by a leader to affect the achievement of a desirable and clearly understood vision by influencing the organizational culture, allocating resources, directing through policy and directive and building consensus within a volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous (VUCA) global environment, which is marked by opportunities and threats."²¹

In addition to understanding strategic leadership, one must also understand the competencies a strategic leader should possess to perform necessary tasks. The leadership competencies are conceptual, technical and interpersonal. Although these competencies form the foundation of a strategic leader, they are developed and used at a various points in an officer's career. The conceptual competency includes the analytical ability of the strategic leader to understand and thrive in the uncertain and complex strategic environment. The technical competency includes the proficiency in which the strategic leader understands the external impacts on the organization -- political, economic and cultural.

Finally, the strategic leader must have the ability to communicate and build consensus with parties internal and external to the organization. Strategic leadership and the associated competencies as defined, establish the parameters by which the selected black officers will be measured. The contributions of these officers should highlight whether they were strategic leaders. The officers chosen for their contributions are Abraham Hannibal, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henry Ossian Flipper and General Colin L. Powell.

Abraham Hannibal

Abraham Hannibal was born in 247 BC and was later captured in Africa as a slave. He was adopted by Peter the Great as his son and taught military engineering. Hannibal became the instructor to the heir to the throne and rose to the position of Commander in Chief of the Russian Army. He died at the age of 90, owning vast estates and 2000 white slaves.²³ During his lifetime he was credited with originating and using nine Principles of War of the US Armed Forces: objective, offensive, simplicity, unity of command, mass, economy of force, maneuver, surprise and security were all used by Hannibal at the Battle of Cannae.²⁴ He is also credited with using the double envelopment tactic before anyone else in the history of warfare. In addition to his ability to be highly successful at the art of war, his interpersonal skills were superior.

"It was Black Hannibal who taught the Romans the art of building and deploying an army and the world the method of governing a multilingual nation efficiently."²⁵ His style of leadership by example has affected all the cultures that followed his. Even today's army can attribute the concept of leadership, the officer's code of conduct and tactics and strategy to Hannibal. He was a true leader by every measure. He possessed, in abundant quantities, all the competencies of a strategic leader.

Toussaint L'Ouverture

Francois Duvalier, the former leader of the Haitian government considered Toussaint the father of the country of Haiti.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was born into slavery on a large plantation in 1743. Slavery provided him the roots and tools to effectively manage both the White and Black cultures of his time.

Slavery also provided the necessary insights into society and government. Eventhough he was self-taught, he formed the most powerful army ever created during the 18th century, in the West Indies. Toussaint's vision was to bring about a multiracial society, ruled by Blacks, that was founded upon the plantation system. The society would be ruled by a prince or someone with absolute power, in accordance with republican principles and loosely linked to Republican France. To accomplish his vision, he became a master of guerilla warfare and a brilliant tactician.

He converted a disorganized mob of rebel slaves into a well-disciplined army that defeated the finest armies that England, France and Spain could send against him.²⁷ His armed expeditions, as an adjunct, contributed to the sale of the Louisiana territory.²⁸ By the definition espoused in FM 22-103, Toussaint was a strategic leader who demonstrated all of the leadership competencies. He had a vision and to realize it, he influenced his culture, allocated resources, directed policy and directives and built consensus in a VUCA environment.

Lieutenant Henry Ossian Flipper

Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper made American history. He was the first black cadet to graduate from West Point; the first black man to be commissioned in the United States Army; and the first black man to be dismissed from the service. His contribution as a strategic leader will never be realized because he was not allowed to fulfill his destiny.

After his commissioning and subsequent assignment to the 10th US Cavalry, he received the same type of isolation, discrimination and harassment he received at West Point. His undoing was to be seen fraternizing with a white woman, which was very unpopular during the late 1800s. His crime was manifested through a charge of "embezzling Army funds and conduct unbecoming an officer." He was found "not guilty" of embezzlement, but "guilty" for conduct unbecoming an officer and was discharged from the service.

LT. Flipper became well known later as a civil engineer in the western territories and states, in Mexico and in South America. Documents and records which reflect his superior achievement as a civil engineer, tend to indicate that he was a potential general officer. Had Lt. Flipper been afforded an equal opportunity to reach his full potential as a combat arms officer, history may have read differently. Flipper's position as a logistics officer confined him to garrison duties where he posed no threat to his white counterparts as a commander. Whether he would have made a mark as a strategic leader will never be known, because he was denied the opportunities.

General Colin L. Powell

Between Lt. Flipper and General Colin Powell, there were other black and general officers. They all faced forms of overt or covert racism. The underlying factor for all of them is that they all wanted to serve their country and be remembered for their achievements.

According to Jessie Carney Smith, in his book "Black Firsts", there are many significant firsts by black officers. Their achievements contributed in some form to the success of General Colin L. Powell, a recognized BSL. General Powell survived in a VUCA environment for the better part of his thirty-five years in the Army. He occupied positions in both the Democratic and Republican parties and still carved out a remarkable military career.

His significant achievements include attaining the rank of four-star general, becoming the first black National Security Advisor and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His positions in the upper stratum of the American government allowed him to influence and set policy that impacted on all of the American society. He had a vision which moved the services into a new era which he called his "Strategic Overview-1994." In addition, he demonstrated on numerous occasions that he possessed all of the strategic leader competencies. These competencies were demonstrated particularly during the Persian Gulf War and the negotiations that prevented a military conflict in Haiti. To date, General Powell is one of the most notable figures in the world, Black or White.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Opportunities for Blacks can improve if race becomes less of a factor in developing Black Strategic Leaders. To overcome the issues of race and recognition in the military, Blacks must: use and be mentors, understand the environment of competition, assimilate into the larger society sooner, and make occupational choices conducive to becoming Black Strategic Leaders. Whites must: openly address the issue of race, be aware of the environment that Blacks compete in, look beyond race and focus on capabilities and be conscious of passive bigotry and confront it. These recommendations can make race less important and the military will see and recognize the potential of Blacks and more Black Strategic Leaders will emerge.

SUMMARY

During the writing of this paper, key actions, talents, circumstances and skills that contribute to the development of BSLs have been identified. Areas of contention that have plagued black officers but not their White contemporaries have also been identified. The historical examples, data and influences all point to race as the primary factor in determining why more BSLs are not present and have not been recognized. Opportunities are available in the military today. However, black officers that are eligible to move up to influential positions are still in small numbers and competition with their White counterparts is still very challenging. To overcome the issues of race and recognition in the military system, Blacks must: use and be mentors, understand the environment of competition, assimilate into the larger society sooner, and make occupational choices conducive to becoming Black Strategic Leaders.

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- 20. Henry E. Dabbs, <u>Black Brass</u>, <u>Black Generals and Admirals in the Armed Forces of the United States</u>, (Heritage House, Freehold, New Jersey), 35.
- 21. U.S. Department of the Army, "Strategic Leadership," Draft Field Manual 22-103 Washington: U.S. Department of the Army, July 1995, 1-1.
 - 22. Ibid., 5-1 and 5-2.
- 23. J.A. Rogers, 100 Amazing Facts About The Negro, (New York: Futuro Press, 1957), 12.
 - 24. Henry E. Dabbs, xviii.

- 25. Ibid., xxi.
- 26. George F. Tyson Jr., <u>Toussaint L'Ouverture</u>, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1973), 17.
 - 27. Henry E. Dabbs, xviii.
- 28. Ibid., xxiii. Because of General L'Ouverture's domination of Napoleon's armed expeditions, the power of France in the New World was broken, hastening the sale of the Louisiana territory, which makes up nearly half of what is now the United States of America, for a meager financial consideration.
 - 29. Barry C. Johnson, Flipper's Dismissal, 6.
- 30. William J. O'Brien, PFC., <u>Henry Ossian Flipper, First Negro Graduate from the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, (Carlisle, PA, Army War College, 1934), 1.</u>
 - 31. Jesse J. Johnson, 54.
- 32. Jesse Carney Smith, <u>Black Firsts</u>, (Detroit MI., Visible Ink Press, 1994), 237-254.
- 33. Colin L. Powell with Joseph E. Persico, My American Journey, (New York: Random House 1995), 436.

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